ence; that policy of non-intervention recommended to us by the Father of our country, and practised by all the Presidents of this Republic from that day to this.

The correctness of the policy of non-intervention with the Governments of Europe is embodied deep in the hearts and affections of the people of Ohio. I undertake, Mr. Chairman, as one of the representatives from that State, to say that the people of Ohio have no desire to change that policy. But, while I am free to declare their true adherence to the former and present wise policy of our Government on the subject of foreign intervention, I do not believe that the people of Ohio, or of any considerable proportion of our common country, wish, by the action of this House, to proclaim to all nations of the world that they may exercise the iron rule of tyranny against that they may exercise the iron rule of tyranny against those who are struggling to be free as we are, and there shall be no arm to interfere or succor the oppressed. I had prepared, and would have offered had it been in order under this memorials. der under this proposition, an amendment to the original resolution, providing that nothing in the aforesaid resolu-tion should be considered as committing this Government in favor of or against foreign intervention. That is the ground upon which we should stand.

I heard my friend from North Carolina, (Mr. Stanly,)

in his ingenious manner, refer to other subjects, which I hope will not be connected with this resolution or debate. Does he suppose his friends from the South can be driven from their support of this measure by such a course? I ask the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. STANLY) if he expects to drive these men from the support of this resolu-tion by the shallow pretext of its receiving support from some of the Abolitionists? If he does, I think he is mis-

The compromise measures of last session have also been referred to. Sir, I do not desire to disturb those measures, now that they have been adopted; not because I approve of all the principles embraced in those measures—for some I do not approve—but because they were passed and adopted as a compromise; and I assure my friend from North Carolina (Mr. Stanly) I intend for one to live up to the spirit of those measures; but at the same time pledge him and his associates further, being one of the re presentatives of a free State with a free constitution, that I will not permit the enemies of the abolition cause, here or elsewhere, (because the name may be obnoxious to some,) to connect that with this matter, to interfere with or pre-vent my expression of sympathy for the oppressed and the great principles of human freedom, of which Louis Kossuth great principles of human freedom, of when Louis Rossum in the Old World has been the exponent, and the man whom we have welcomed to the people of the nation, and assented to by their approbation of the sentiments contained in the President's message. The voice of this nation has spoken. You have invited Kossuth to your doors. Will you invite a guest to your table, and not set him a chair? Is that the courtesy we are to extend to him? hope not.

Here the Chairman's hammer fell. The question was then taken on the amendment offered by the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. Clark) to the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee, and it was re-Mr. FULLER, of Pennsylvania. Mr. Chairman, I offer

the following amendment to the amendment, viz:

"That in the opinion of this House the armed intervention
of one Power in the affairs of another is a violation of the public law of the world, and a war upon the rights of nations."

Mr. Chairman, I have forborne heretofore from taking any part in this discussion, with the hope that the majo-rity of this House would succeed in securing that final action upon the original proposition of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. CARTTER) which appeared to meet with the wishes and approbation of a majority of this body; but, sir. as that seems to be impossible, and as the opportunity is now afforded for all to express their opinio views upon this question, I avail myself of it.

I was surprised that there should be any difference

opinion with regard to the propriety of that resolution. It seemed to me that it should have met at once the unanimous approbation of every member of this House; that it was but the natural consequence of what we had already done; that it was simply, as has already been stated, an act of courtesy, merely decent behavior, upon our part, in consideration of what had previously been done. Why, sir, who intervened to prevent the surrender of this illu trious stranger to the power of Austria? Who intervened to secure his liberation? Who brought him here? Upon whose invitation is he here? And now that he is knocking at our doors, shall we throw them open, or close them in his face? It is, to be sure, sir, but an expression of opin ion in favor of the Hungarian revolution. I regard it as

It has been well said, by one of the most gifted orators of this country, "that, although the whirlwind has its power, and the lightning its power, and the earthquake its power, yet public opinion is stronger and mightier than them all." And it is to a very great extent the public opinion of this country in behalf of free institutions and resultar rights which is now operating and shaping. and popular rights which is now operating, and shaping, and moulding public opinion abroad. That the uprising will come which is now predicted, I verily believe; and that Italy and Germany, Poland and Hungary, and ever Ireland, will yet successfully maintain their independence, I fervently hope; for, although the head of Emmet has rolled from the block; although O'Brien, and Mitchell. rolled from the block; although O'Brien, and Mitchell, and O'Meagher have been doomed to transportation, yet the spirit of liberty is still there, and as long as there remains a heart to throb or a hand to strike there is hope for their deliverance.

nic fires which cannot be quenched, and which, though mountains may press it down and oceans overwhelm it, will sooner or later burst forth and flame up to heaven. I trust the time will come quickly when all these oppres sed nations may successfully wage war upon their op-pressors, and when the chains which have been forged for them will be burst asunder, and break the bands of their will be burst asunder, and break the bands of their oppressors—when men will be free to act as God has made them free to think. I think that time is coming; but whether it be the policy for this country now forcibly to interfere is a very grave proposition, and one which I very

At home, on our own soil, in our own defence, we can resist the world. The experiment of a foreign war, on resist the world. The experiment of a foreign war, on a foreign soil, requires sober consideration. Our mission is one of peace; our settled policy has been "friendly relations with all, entangling alliances with none." It is true we live in an extraordinary age. Ancient usages and established policy are yielding to the force of new opinions. Our position, too, is marked and peculiar. We are the free State among the nations. Our history, mixed population, and commercial relations make us interested observers of what is transpiring in Europe; and while we are watching the effect of our opinions and our example upon the continental Powers, is it not proper for us to declare ourselves in favor of popular rights and constitutional liberty? It becomes us as a nation to assert that we are in favor of our own institutions, and that we recognise the right of every people to frame and adopt we recognise the right of every people to frame and adopt their own form of government, and that we regard any foreign interference as an infraction of the law of nations, and at war with the rights of humanity.

Mr. MANN. I do not rise, Mr. Chairman, to utter any warm or passionate words. I wish only to bring the committee to a calm consideration of the circumstances in which we have placed ourselves. The relation in which we stand to Governor Kossuth was not sought by himself but by us. This Government took the initiative. The Secretary of State, by command of the President, first addressed a communication to our Minister at Constanti addressed a communication to our Minister at Constanti-nople in behalf of this fugitive from Austrian oppression. This step was followed by the action Austrian oppression. nople in behalf of this fugitive from Austrian oppression. This step was followed by the action of the Government, tendering the services of a national vessel to bring him to our shores. He accepted the offer, placed himself under the protection of the American flag, and from that time was the nation's guest. The President, in his last annual message, referred to the subject anew, spoke complacently of what had been done, and commended the subject of further demonstration in behalf of this victim flying from oppression to the consideration of Congress. In both Houses Congress acted promptly upon the subject. A joint resolution was passed extending to him a ject. A joint resolution was passed extending to him a "welcome"—a sincere one, as was believed—and this resolution was signed by the President, and officially communicated to Governor Kossuth. He accepted our salutation, and, as in duty bound, has come here to make fitting acknowledgments. And here we all know he is. He waits only to have the etiquette of his introduction arranged. The President has received him. The Senate has fixed upon the day for a formal reception. But the House demurs. While he stands at our door we compell him to express a survey of which the House whether he him to overhear a wrangle within the House whether he shall be received in pursuance of the invitation given, or

driven rudely away.

And why this revecation of our "welcome," and this breach of decorum? So far as I have heard, for no rea-son except that he is understood to entertain some notions in regard to a breach of the "law of nature and of nathe affairs of another to put down its liberties. He says that, when a people has broken loose from the oppressor, a third party ought not to come in and bind the chains anew. But, in the first place, is this sentiment so flagitious that we cannot bear to hear it? And, in the second place, where has it been uttered? He has advanced it only in circles of his friends where he has been invited to speak. He has, as yet, made no request of the Governonly in circles of his friends where he has been invited to speak. He has, as yet, made no request of the Government of the United States to act upon this principle. When he makes such a request of us, it will be time enough to refuse him. Nay, I go further, and say, if we fear that he will make such a request of the responsible head of this Government, and we are unwilling to trust that head to answer it, let us instruct the Committee on Foreign Relations to bring in a resolution defining or denying the duty of this Government to interpose against the response the content of the committee of t duty of this Government to interpose against the tyrant and in behalf of the tyrannized. That is the only legitimate method of treating the case; all else seems prema-ture, irrelevant, and insulting. Nothing can be more

guished exile to come to us from abroad, and then wel-comed him when he landed upon our shores, I hold that it would be disreputable to ourselves, and wounding to the spirit of freedom every where, now to refuse to take him by the hand and give him free access to our House I trust the country will analyze the votes, and place the responsibility of the opposition where it belongs.

The question was then taken upon the amendment offered by the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Fuller) to

he amendment; and it was rejected.

Mr. TAYLOR offered the following amendment to the

"No change is contemplated in our uniform course of policy

a conducting our foreign relations."

Mr. POLK. I rise to a question of order. I wish to Mr. POLK. I rise to a question of order. I wish to know, having no special knowledge of the operation of the rules of this House, whether a principle can be engrafted upon a simple resolution of courtesy? The resolution of the gentleman from Ohio, if I understand it, was to appoint a committee to wait upon Louis Kossuth, and invite him upon this floor. Can gentlemen offer amendments involving the great principle of intervention or non-intervention upon the part of this Republic? I want to know the legitimesy of the amendment he legitimacy of the amendment. The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee can-

not argue the point. Mr. POLK. I will not argue it; I merely suggest point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. POLK) makes a point of order upon the amendment of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TAYLOR) to the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Churchwell.) The original resolution offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Cartter) is one proposing to appoint a committee to introduce Louis Kossuth into the House of Representatives. The amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Taylon) proposes to declare what we intend by that invitation. It is considered by the Chair that the amendment is in order, as it is a further declaration or explanation of what the House intends to do or not to do, and the Chair believes it to be pertinent, and therefore in

Mr. POLK. I wished to submit my case, so that might make an appeal.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman appeal from the decision of the Chair?

Mr. POLK. I do appeal.
Mr. RICHARDSON. I desire to ask a single question If, after you send a matter to a committee, the only way in which you can attach any thing to is not by instrucin which you can it it is not start to that committee?

Mr. POLK. Is the appeal debatable?

The CHAIRMAN. The appeal is debatable within the

Mr. POLK. I do not desire to occupy five minutes; but wish to call the attention of the House to this question. If members are permitted upon this offer amendments and discuss them for five minutes, when are we to terminate? It will be inter-Then, sir, if the decision of the Chair is sus tained, I can offer an amendment to make temperance—as my friend from Illinois (Mr. RICHARDSON) a few days ago did-to make temperance the ruling order and control of this House. [Laughter.] I can go further; I can introduce an amendment declaring that this Government will not longer entertain diplomatic intercourse with the Emperor of Austria. I can go further; I can declare, upon an amendment to this resolution, that we will cease diplomatic intercourse with every Government upon the continent of Europe. Is that legitimate? Sir, can I go to that extent? Can I declare upon this resolution that we will maintain relations of friendship and amity and of commercial intercourse with Great Britain? No, sir, you will say. But, if I annot do so, can you decide that the declaration of intervention in the affairs of Europe can be considered here under the head of a proposition merely inviting a distinguished foreigner to take a position upon this floor? Why, sir, if you give me such a liberty, if you give me such a privilege, I can bring to your attention the question of the Prometheus, the Thrasher case, and introduce upon this platform the case of the poor Cuban invaders. Where is it to stop? Whenever the chairman of this committee will mark out the boundary, and fix a place to stop, I am willing to obey his mandates. But when he confines himself to this case, and admits proositions directly reflecting upon our foreign intercourse, must claim the privilege of throwing myself upon the House to be sustained. Mr. TAYLOR. I would not consume the time of the

ommittee even for five minutes, if it were not that I hear

constantly asserted upon this floor that the illustrious Hungarian exile, now within the city of Washington, is "the guest of the nation." He has been received formally by the President of the United States, courteously, hositably, frankly, and in a manner becoming this great nation and the Chief Magistrate of our country. He is still remaining with us, receiving the attentions and polite ospitalities of the people of this city, and of many of our lost distinguished citizens. But, sir, I dissent from some gentlemen upon this floor, who insist that Louis Kossuth s "the guest of our nation." How is he the guest of the action? What steps have we taken to bring him to this country, and how does he come here? Are all who emigrate to our country the guests of the nation? The messages of the President of the United Press made to Congress at the present session, which I have before me, present a list of papers embracing a correspondence between the Secretary of State of the United States and our foreign Minister at Constantinople, a letter from Kossuth himself, and one from Mr. Brown, our dragoman at Con-stantinople, the whole tenor of which goes to show that these Hungarians desired to emigrate to the United States. That after the Sublime Porte received four thousand Hungarian exiles in his empire, and defied the power of Rus sia and Austria to take them out of it by force, that he saved their lives by his power, and maintained them by his hospitality and liberality. The people of the United States had their feelings of sympathy aroused in their behalf. And the correspondence between the Government of the United States, our Minister at Constantinople, and the Turkish authorities, shows that while the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was willing to pay their expenses to get them out of his country and send them, or some of the chief personages amongst them, to England, they had not the means wherewith to come to the United States of America, as they desired to come. What did we do, sir, under this state of things, having had their wishes officially announced to us? The Congress of the United States, on the 3d of March, 1851, passed a joint resolution, which I have before me, and which it appears gentlemen of this House forget or greatly misunderstand. In order that the country may understand it, and that I may stand justified

efore my constituency, I will read the resolution:
"Whereas the people of the United States sincerely symps and fully appreciate the magnanimous conduct of the Turkish Government in receiving and treating those noble exiles with kindness and handle thize with the Hungarian exiles, Kossuth and kindness and hospitality; and whereas it is the wish of these exiles to emigrate to the United States, and the will of the Sultan to permit them to leave his dominions: Therefore,

"Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be and hereby is requested to authorize the employment of some one of the public vessels to authorize the employment of some one of the public vessels which may be now cruising in the Mediterranean to receive and convey to the United States the said Louis Kossuth and his associates in captivity."

We gave them a passage in one of our foreign vessels as exiles—as men desiring to emigrate to this country for a secure asylum and a home. And that secure asylum and protection they would receive; the whole power of the Govern-ment against the nations of the Old World would be ex-erted to secure it to them, now that they are amongst us, if they choose to remain with us and become adopted citi-zens of this country. Now, I say we have not made Louis Kossuth, by this proceeding, "the guest of the nation." We have welcomed him and his associates. We have wel-comed him formally to the capital and to the country. I sek, does that imply that we should go further, and place him upon the footing of Lafayette?—the immortal Lafay him upon the footing of Lafayette?—the immortal Lafayette, who struggled and fought for us during our seven years' revolution, and aided us by his fortune, the fisk of his life and sacred honor, to secure our own independence? I say that he cannot be placed upon the same footing, and does not deserve to be received in the same way. Yet I would extend to him every sympathy and kindness suitable to his late eminent position in Hungary and his present situation, and do all that is becoming in me to do towards him and his associates as a citizen of the United States of America.

Mr. BOWNE. Mr. Chairman, I rise here, sir, as a friend of Kossuth and of Hungary, and as one who has voted with the majority throughout this contest, to ask of that majority a simple act of justice. We find that the minority in this House will not rest satisfied with the resolution now under consideration as it now stands, inasmuch as it seems to them to contain something under the rose. Sir, it has been said that any appendix to this resolution would seem to imply a discourtesy to Louis Kossuth. Permit me to suggest that we have high authority for differing from this proposition. We find that the President of the United States, in the very act of welcoming Louis Kossuth in person to these shores, took oc-easion to say clearly and distinctly, and withal most cour-teously and properly, that this Government could not en-dorse the doctrine of its distinguished guest, as regards the propriety of an intervention on our part between the Powers of Europe. Under such circumstances we find the minority here unwilling to vote for a resolution which seems to cover a cloven foot. Now, as a friend to this measure, I call upon the majority, and especially upon my friend from Ohio, (Mr. CARTTER,) who offered this resolution, to come forward and explain to this com whether or not there is any thing behind the proposition now under consideration which does not appear upon its face. I consider that this is due to the minority, and that

It has been said that, by protracting this debate, we insult him. Who are responsible for this, I desire to know? a majority, a majority who can afford to be generous, for a majority, a majority who can afford to be generous, for they represent a generous principle, or a minority strug-gling to avoid being misrepresented—a minority, permit me to add, in my belief, quite as honestly devoted to Kos-suth and his cause as the majority here present? And now, sir, I ask again, if the gentlemen with whom I have been voting here do not desire to do wrong—if they do not wish to involve Louis Kossuth in difficulty with the people of this country how can they chiest to coming out and of this country, how can they object to coming out and satisfying the minority on this head? I admire the man ath and his cause; and I am willing to congratulate him and to ask him here, where he may learn and know what are true republican views. And therefore I trust that this captious argument may be no longer continued—that it may come to an end—and that the majority, with whom I am identified, will show a disposition to abandon their captiousness, and show that, in their desire to compliment the living imbodiment of a just principle, they have no selfishness, but are willing to throw open their doors to all who may wish to join them. And, sir, furdoors to all who may wish to join them. And, sir, furthermore, I will say that unless this majority will consent to this measure which I now propose, I, for one, distrusting their ungenerousness, will be constrained to refuse again to accord to them my humble vote. And, in doing this, I trust and believe that my motives, as a true friend of Hungary, of Kossuth, and of liberty the world over, will be fully appreciated here, as I know they will be by those whom I represent here, whose undying devotion to the cause, of human freedom is above fear and above. the cause of human freedom is above fear and above reproach.

The question being taken upon the amendment of Mr. Taylor to the amendment of Mr. Churchwell, it was Mr. MOLONY offered an amendment to the amendment which was read by the Clerk, as follows:

"Resolved, That the passage of the original resolution shall be understood as expressive of the indignation of this House n behalf of the American people at the despotic intervention of the Czar of Russia, and crushing by his armed legions the epublican and triumphant spirit of Hungary."

Mr. MOLONY said: Mr. Chairman, I owe an apology to the friends of Kossuth upon this floor for offering this amendment at this time. I should not have done it was I retaining a particle of that strong assurance which, at the commencement of this debate, I entertained, viz: That a proper regard for the dignity of this body, for the propriettes or courtesy due to our illustrious guest, for the manifest will of the American people, which it is our sole province to reflect in our action upon this resolution, and at all times, would ensure a favorable and harmonious action upon it. I repeat, I had hoped that these considerations, each and all of them, would secure for this original resolution an emphatic, cordial, and universal adop-tion. But, sir, that hope has died within me. I perceive sir, that a factious minority, and in numbers almost contemptible, has for the last three days, and part of one night, held, in Committee of the Whole, at bay, by par-liamentary tatics, an overwhelming majority of this body; gagged them, sir, and through us gagged the sentimen of the American people in regard to our illustrious stran-ger—an act alike disgraceful to this body as it is insulting to the nation and its honored guest. I repeat it, sir, that this House, by its unwarrantable factious opposition to the passage of the original resolution, has disgraced itself in the eyes of the civilized world. Gov. Kossuth, sir, is here the guest of the nation; such he is by an invitation extended to him by the proper national authorities, while an exile and a guest of the Sultan of Turkey; such he is by the orders given by the Executive of the nation, tha a national salute should announce his arrival in New York; such he is by an invitation of the President and Congress, since his arrival on our shores, to visit the nation's capital; and yet, sir, after all this, the unfortunate yet glorious exile no sooner arrives here than this House is seen perpetrating an act in them most ungraceful, and insulto the feelings of their guest, in debating for three days and a part of one night a simple resolution for introducing him to the floor of this House. I have, sir, no responsibility in this matter; I mean to have none. And, sir, for the purpose of putting myself right upon the original resolution before the House, my constituency and country, I rise, and to throw it upon those who must answer for it to themselves, and should to their constituency and the country. For the original resolution I go hand, head, and heart; and, in saying this, I say not that I speak for myself alone, as has been repeatedly announced on the other side of the House, but I speak it as the representative of a constituency of two hundred thousand. Yes, sir; and I would have it understood by the despots of Europe and their sympathizers in America that my constituency feel strongly the sentiments embodied in my amendment, and when the proper time and occasion shall arrive, I, as their representative, am prepared to declare by vote that the armed intervention of despotic Russia in the domestic concerns of Hungary, crushing by its armed legions the republican and triumphant forces of ment, and if necessary to fight for Hungary. When armed legions the republican and triumphant forces of that people, was an outrage upon the sympathies of the Christian world, and alike a violation of international and divine law.

Mr. Chairman, I have accomplished my object in offering my amendment—that was, an opportunity to put my-self right upon the original resolution; and, as I have self right upon the original resolution; and, as I have always voted not to embarrass the original simple question with any amendments, I shall defer my approbation of my own amendment for a more fitting time and occasion, and accordingly now vote against its adoption.

Mr. CULLOM. I had not intended, Mr. Chairman, to have participated in this discussion. It was my purpose to vote silently, as I have done from the origin of this ments as we have heard in this debate from several speakquestion; but since gentlemen arrogate to themselves the prerogative upon this floor of denouncing me and those rules to carry out their purpose in this respect, I ask, is with whom I act upon these questions as factionists, I have the right as an American citizen, the double right as a member upon this floor, of acting upon these questions as factionists, I it not time for reflecting, serious, and sober-minded men to pause in their course, ere they upturn the long-established policy of the country? We have told him that he tions, as upon all others, under all the obligations and sanctions which this high trust imposes. I would be false to myself and unloyal to my constituency if I did not, rality required. This I willingly consented to. No man to myself and unloyal to my constituency if I did not, as I here do, hurl it back upon its authors as a falsehood. Applause, and cries of "Good!" "Good!" "That's out the world, or with the men who dedicate themselve ight!"] What have I done as a Representative here for to it, than I do. But our first duty is to ourselves. which I am to be thus censured? Have I not demeaned myself in every phase this question has assumed in strict conformity with the rules prescribed by this body for its government? Might I not with far greater propriety charge that the dominant majority upon this question have madly overriden the stubborn rules of the Fouse in order mority, I have resorted to revolutionary measures, and to

Mr. Chairman, I have fully, in my opinion, discharged the obligations of courtesy in relation to the distinguished individual who is the subject-matter of this discussion. Our Government had invited him to the discussion. sion. Our Government had invited him to our free country as a refugee from European oppression, and in that same spirit I voted the invitation to visit the capital of this mighty nation. There I choose to stop and hand the distinguished gentleman over to the hospitality of the American people generally, and to the people of Washington in particular; feeling that my legislative functions have ceased; but every amendment limiting our action to mere courtesy (and nothing more, we are assured, is intended) has been voted down, and a new and dangerous doctrine has been shadowed forth through the speeches of gentlemen, from which, as an American, I shrink. My American pride has forced me to take my stand, and it shall be my last entrenchment, by my own country and her time-honored usages. Mr. Chairman, ours is justly called a model republican Government, whilst its enemies tauntingly point to it as a mere experiment; and so it will prove, if your quacks are permitted to practice their experiments upon it. Yes, sir, gentlemen eloquently point to it as a beacon light to which the world have turned the first property that the despotisms of sion. Our Government had invited him to our free couned their eyes in their struggles against the despotisms of the Old World. How important that this great light should be always steady and stable; but in the hands of should be always steady and stable; but in the hands of the progressive gentlemen it would be a mere jack o'lantern, leading the nations of the earth to quagmires and marshes. I am not prepared to commit this country, by my vote, to the new-made and dangerous policy of espousing the quarrels and wars of other and foreign Governments. I am for maintaining our own national honor and rights, at any and all times, let the consequences be what they may. But I adhere to the sacred saying, which has with us become an axiom, "Friendship with all, but entangling alliances with none." I am here, sir, to do homage to no man living. I am no man-worshipper. If I were, the patriots of my own country are entitled to my first adoration. But, in the language of one, upon a very solemu occasion, "I bow the knee to no power save God Almighty." I lick the dust from no man's feet, I care not what the trappings of royalty or circumstance may be. what the trappings of royalty or circumstance may be. I am an American. I am a Tennesseean. And those honorable gentlemen who have been so excessive in their eulogies of the great Magyar—and great I admit him to will have the same regrets, I fear, that the same people did who were foremost in their adulations of Mr. Dickens. Yes, Mr. Chairman, he will write a book, and I fear these eulogistic gentlemen will occupy the same page that Dickens's admirers did in his book. But for the

conservative position which we who are denounced maily as factionists occupy, our nation would be precipitated from its ancient moorings.
[Here the hammer fell.]
The question was then taken on Mr. Molony's amerment, and it was rejected.

(a copy of which was not obtained.)

posed to do Louis Kossuth by the original resolution, and the ultimate design of some, if there be any such in this House, to involve this country in difficulties with European Powers. I am opposed to the latter, and in favor of the former. I believe the questions to be entirely distinct. Permit me, Mr. Chairman, to say to my brethren of the South that it seems to me they have manifested upon this occasion an undue sensitiveness in refer. fested upon this occasion an undue sensitiveness in reference to this proposition. Do they intend to imply by opposition to this resolution that the march of free principles in Europe is a march upon the South? If they do, I must beg leave to part from them. I stand here amongst the foremost, whenever republican liberty is the question, to give my aid in every legitimate form for its progress. I do not believe the establishment of freedom any where can operate to the prejudice of the South or Southern institutions and any under sensitiveness upon Southern institutions, and any undue sensitiveness upon that subject is calculated to do us injury, serious injury, with the lovers of freedom throughout the world, because we teach them by that means to draw a distinction be-tween the republicanism of the South and republicanism elsewhere. I admit no such thing. I assert that the triumph of democratic constitutional liberty does not and cannot interfere with the Southern institutions. will not admit there is a paradox presented by our institutions and the constitutional liberty we enjoy. They are utter. altogether compatible, and I shall always be found among I ha the foremost in advocating whatever may legitimately tend to the establishment of freedom in other parts of the tend to the establishment of freedom in other parts of the world, but not to the extent of involving my country in intervention with European politics. I am opposed to a policy of that sort; but when the simple question is, Shall we do such honor to the representative of free principles in Europe as will give aid and comfort to those noble hearts who are now beating high with inspirations for freedom, shall I withhold it? No, sir; I will not withold it through the vain fear that it may recoil upon our Our institutions are based upon a firmer principle, a firmer foundation; and the march of liberty elsewhere is not in conflict with our interests. We at the South know there would be as much wisdom in a man emancipating his infant children before they have arrived at the years of discretion as there would be in emanci pating the black race. The difference between the two is, that the children of the white man will arrive to a pe riod when they become freemen, and can provide for riod when they become freemen, and can provide for themselves; the negro never an A distinction, drawn by the hand of the Almighty between the black and the white race, has placed the negro in his present position, and there he must remain, receiving protection from the white man, and rendering him service for it. The white man must be served by them as the little boy of ten years must serve his father who protects him. A negro is always a child. Unless we can stand upon a principle which is immutable in relation to our institutions, and which is immutable in relation to our institutions, and also compatible with the great truths of republican government, we shall be condemned; and we are pronouncin our own condemnation if we refuse our sympathies to the oppressed of other countries. Let us avoid, sir, even the

Mr. BOCOCK. This debate has been long protracted and I have not made an attempt before this in the last two days to participate in it. Nor should I have done so now but for the fact that the speech which has been jus made by my colleague (Mr. Meade) places me, and those who have acted with me, in a false position before thi House, the country, and our constituents. He has assumed in the remarks which he has just made that we have been guided solely by a sensitiveness upon the sul

ect of slavery in our course here. Mr. MEADE. If, in the hurry of my remarks, I made any such statement, I did not intend it. I only inferred the thing from the resolution offered by the gentleman from North Carolina, (Mr. STANLY,) and from the fact tha the vote here had partaken in a measure of a sectiona

character. Mr. Bocock. If the gentleman has not intended it, take this occasion to say for myself, to this House and this country, that it is not the consideration which ha chiefly operated upon me, or any of us on this side, so far as I kr

Mr. MEADE. I am glad to hear it. Mr. Bocock. The vote has in fact been very far from sectional one. Gentlemen from Indiana, Ohio, and New ork have been prominent on our side.

I ask upon what principle is it expected that this resolution is to be adopted? Is it as a personal compliment to Louis Kossuth? Nobody claims that. Is it because he is the representative of a great principle that we ar to honor him in this House? Now, I ask of what prin ciple is he the representative? He comes to declare be fore this country what principle he represents; and he is the organ of his own opinions, sentiments, and wishes He has proclaimed trumpet-tongued, "I do not ask yo empty compliments; I do not ask your empty sympathy resolution like this was sent him from the other end of the Capitol what did he say? He was told it was a com nent. He said no; I know better than you do. is a meaning, a political meaning in it. He was deceived. Well, it is not Louis Kossuth that we are only deceiving in eager competition to be the first to join in this current feels more sympathy with the cause of freedom through

madly overriden the stubborn rules of the House in order to precipitate this question? and in their holy zeal to do honor to Mr. Kossuth would crush and thus denounce those whom they choose to call factionists, but who, I assert, are the real American law-and-order party of this House. [Great applause. "Order!" "Order!"] While I am disposed to treat members with all the courtesy due their station as representatives of American freemen, I am here to exact that same observance; and whilst gentlemen are talking for Buncombe and the mobs at the Five Points, they must learn that these indignities are highly unbecoming.

So the amendment to the amendment was not agreed to Mr. TUCK offered the following as an amendment to the amendment, to come in at the end thereof: "And it is hereby declared to be the judgment of this House that the late intervention of Russia in the affairs of Hungary was a violation of the law of nations."

Mr. T. said: That amendment expresses my senti ments, and I am for speaking them out here, let who may take offence.
Mr. CARTTER. I would inquire of the Chair whether

that amendment is in order?

The CHAIRMAN. In the opinion of the Chair, the mendment is not in order.

Mr. SAVAGE then offered the following amendment the amendment:

"Resolved, That Congress disapproves the political doctrines of Louis Kossuth in relation to the foreign policy of the United States, and that it is contrary to the practice of this Government and the spirit of the Constitution to pay mere personal compliments to individuals." Mr. SAVAGE said: Mr. Chairman, I had hoped to have

passed through this unpleasant discussion without de-taining the House by any remarks upon the subject. But I have felt it my duty to offer the amendment just read. It covers in brief the many reasons which have controlled my action relative to Kossuth.

Far be it from me to entertain sentiments of hostility to the so-called great Hungarian. I wish every man on earth peace, glory, success, and contentment; nor shall I ever travel out of my path to lessen the honor of any man,

no matter how unmerited he may wear it. But when a question comes up in the line of my duty, no tempestuous enthusiasm, no considerations of safety to myself, shall drive or deter me from expressing my honest and deliberate convictions.

I cannot approve the political principles of the great Hungarian apostle, and there is nothing left for me to bow to. I have been taught to honor principles, not men; and especially will I fail to seek an occasion to pay an unusual compliment to a man advocating principles the prac-tice of which will destroy the peace and glory of thi

"Whoever dares think one thing and another tell, My soul detests him as the gates of hell."

It is right to deal honestly with Kossuth, and I confe

with each other.

It is right to deal honestly with Kossuth, and I conless I have not the ingenuity of paying a compliment to his person and a curse to his principles by the same act. Besides, I am not sent here for either purpose. I am the representative of a portion of the people of Tennessee. I have been sworn to support the constitution of the United States, and am willing to perish in a struggle for that purpose whenever an Almighty Providence shall so decree. I have not been sworn to support the constitution of Hun-Mr. MBADE offered an amendment to the amendment,

I understood him, free to say that he was in favor of the policy which we have recognised since our national existence; that policy of non-intervention recommended to us ence; that policy of non-intervention recommended to us ence is that policy of non-intervention recommended to us ence is that policy of non-intervention recommended to us ence is that policy of non-intervention recommended to us ence is that policy of non-intervention recommended to us from abroad, and then well-substitute of the majority do not do it they are responsible for giving what has here been called an insult to Kossuth.

It is under the very portals of your Capitor, and a very material distinction, by an interference with the affairs of the European States. It has been said that, by protracting this debate, we insult him. Who are responsible for this, I desire to know!

upon man's dark and dreary destiny, yet other lights have take care that they do not-

Sir, I am content with the history of my Government. It is a lesson of wisdom. I want no new apostle, new bible, or new faith. I would not alter a syllable of the past if I could. I only hope the future may be like it.

Mr. JOHNSON, of Arkansas. I presume it is a matter
of very small consequence to the committee what my position is in regard to this matter, and I do not state it because of its consequence, but I ask that a little consideration may be given to the few words which I am about to

I have desired, from the outset of this discussion, to take no part whatever in it, but so to regulate my course as to bring the committee to a direct vote upon this resolution, the importance of which has been so much magni fied, in order that we might settle it one way or the other. We began this contest last Monday week, when the reso lution was rejected because it did not receive a two-thirds The same was the case last Monday; and now we vote.

have been occupied with the subject all day Tuesday, all day Wednesday, and during the whole of yesterday.

If we are going to grant this privilege as an act of courtesy—and it is evident from the general expression of the House that if granted at all it will be as a courtesy and not as an extraction of the second s and not as an endorsement—let us do it at once. My sition in regard to this matter has certainly not been extravagant one on either side. I have been voting all along so as to bring us to a direct vote on the original re-solution; and whenever we reach that point I shall vote against the reception as proposed in that resolution. That is the position which I occupy. Now, let us look at the position of the matter itself. The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Carter) has offered a resolution that Kossuth shall be received by a committee, but, as I understand it, no one knows what is to be done when he shall be so received. ed. We do not know but that it might lead to his delivering an address in this body, and thus sanction the impli-cation that he was received here for that purpose, and that we endorsed his sentiments on the subject of inter-vention. There are, therefore, sound and rational objec-

tions to that resolution, as I think, if such a possibility exist. On the other hand, the substitute offered by the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. Venable) only proposes that Kossuth shall be admitted to a privileged seat on this floor, as Father Mathew and other distinguished foreigners, among them the compatriots of Kossuth, have been. To that I believe no rational man can object. But we cannot get to the vote on either of those propositions Why? Because there are hundreds of amend original resolution which must be perfected before the sub-

stitute can be voted on.

I hope, therefore, that after this long debate we may permitted to have a cessation of amendments to the original resolutions, and may come to the substitute itself, to which gentlemen can offer such amendments as they desire. But it seems to me that it would be much wiser and more rational to have a vote upon the substitute at once. I candidly believe that it would be carried; for, appreciating M. Kossuth as we all do, I believe we should posed to admit him to a privileged seat.

Gentlemen must bear it in mind that we have debated this question not only before the American public, but be fore the whole world; every kind of extravagant con sideration connected with the subject has been brough in. I hope the Buncombe is now exhausted, and that, after four days' talking, we may be permitted to have

The question was then taken upon Mr. Savage's amendnent to the amendment, and it was not agreed to.

Mr. BRENTON offered the following amendment to

mendment, viz:
"Provided further, That nothing contained in this resolu or any action which may be had thereon, shall be so construed as to identify any member of this House, against his own will, with any of the principles advocated by Louis Kossuth."

Mr. B. said: My object in offering this amendment is to relieve myself and many other gentlemen from the fear lest our votes should be wrongfully construed by the country. By the adoption of that amendment every gen-tleman will at once be placed in a position where he can exercise his own private judgment either for or against the principles which have been advocated by Louis Kossuth. It has fallen upon my ears most strangely when I have the beginning of this debate, that an act of courtesy, extended to Louis Kossuth personally, involves necessarily the adoption or recognition of the principles which he ad-If this position be correct, then whenever we condescend to extend the common civilities of life to those who may differ in opinion from us, we adopt the senti-ments which those individuals may entertain upon any great question whatsoever. There is nothing more erroordinary business of life. Is it true, because I invite a neighbor to partake of the hospitalities of my house, that I necessarily adopt all the abominable notions he may entertain upon any question whatever? Suppose, for in-stance, the honorable gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. STANLY) should, under the influence of his Union hospitality, tender to my distinguished friend from Ohio (Mr. Giddings) the hospitalities of his house; would it be taken for granted that he had adopted the sentiments of that gentleman, and would the country become alarmed, with the fear of his becoming a Free-Soiler? If so, they would come to that conclusion against every principle of com-mon sense. The most that could be made out of it would that the gentleman from North Carolina had, i the kindness of his heart, thrown open his doors, and, while detesting the sins of the party, he loved the sinner. Mr. Chairman, I have sufficient confidence in the intelli-gence of the people of this country, and especially in that of the people whom I have the honor to represent. I believe they will distinguish between the personal reception of this distinguished individual and the adoption of his principles. If Louis Kossuth had come to this country on his responsibility, by his own funds, as a private indi-vidual, I would be ready to do him honor, and the coun-try would be ready to do him honor; for I know we are ready and willing to extend this honor to individuals of high rank from foreign countries, and we are especially willing to pay those honors to the poor and down-trodden who have fled from foreign despotism, when they shall land upon our shores; but we extend this honor to them without adopting their principles.

Mr. MOORE, of Louisiana. I desire to say a few words

to set myself right upon this question. I was originally in favor of this resolution, and I am still in favor of it, be-cause it is paying respect to a great principle of liberty which I recognise as republican. But, although I am thus in favor of paying this tribute of respect, I have voted with the minority in this committee, and I cannot consider that a factious minority, as we are acting under the rules and orders of this House, and those rules and orders are the statutes of this country—as much so as any other statutes, until they are repealed. As I have stated, I have voted with the minority upon several occasions, because this resolution was introduced here in violation of the rules of the House, and in violation of the decisions of the honorable chairman of this committee, and therefore I say that the minority were not acting factiously. They were acting under the rules and orders of this House, and rules and orders of this House, and those rules and orders were acting under the rules and orders of this House, and they have the right so to act. Though I had intended to vote for the resolution, yet I have voted with the minority because the rules of the House were violated by its intro-duction. With this explanation, I shall vote for the resolution, though I am opposed to intervention; and in voting for it I wish to be understood that I do not endorse the doctrines of Louis Kossuth. I shall support the same policy—the policy of Washington—in relation to interven-tion which has always been supported by this Congress since the foundation of this Government. With this ex-

planation, I take my seat.

The question was taken upon Mr. Brenton's amendment to the amendment, and it was not agreed to.

Mr. POLK. I move to strike out in the amendment the word "distinguished:" not that I am not willing to ward to Kossuth all the honor to which he is entitled, but I do to Kossuth all the honor to which he is entitled, but I do
it for the purpose of enabling me to express my views upon this question. If I understand it correctly, the President of the United States directed our diplomatic agent at
Constantinople to invite Kossuth to this country. Three
days after, if I understand the record, Congress passed a
sealestic justing him have. Here is a double duty. The resolution inviting him here. Here is a double duty. The President first, and Congress afterwards sanctioning the Executive power. And not only that, but an American vessel is sent to bear him to our shores. He lands here vessel is and becomes the nation's guest. He comes to Washington; and what does Congress do? It says, "Mr. Kossuth, your sentiments are such that we cannot receive you

proud republic. I desire my acts and opinions to accord in our delegated capacity." No. You pass a resolution three or four days after the beginning of the present Congress in which you invite him to the capital of the country. And now, how does the case stand? Kossuth is here by the invitation of this House, with but sixteen votes in the negative—for I remember the yeas and nays were called—but sixteen were found to vote against giving to the great Magyar a reception worthy of himself and the cause in which his country has fallen. By your own invicause in which his country has fallen. By your own invi-tation he stands at your portals, and what are you doing? You are consulting whether you will receive him or not. You invite a guest, and then call a family circle to discuss the propriety of receiving him. Kossuth is in the city.

my pathway in politics. The star of Washington has lost to my vision none of its charms or brilliancy. It rose in glory with our Government, to shine eternal and unchanging upon our political horizon. My feet shall follow but one path, my eyes shall see but one light, although many others may glitter in the heavens.

We all know that all the light above us is not useful or substantial. Although many be the stars that have shone upon man's dark and thave even used the word "false-hood" to the majority, because we dare to exercise our rights. Sir, we dare to proclaim them factionists, and we dare to stand by the consequences. We have done not him to elicit this charge. I belong to that majority, and I will give my vote for any reception which I may deem proper and just; and that minority must understand that I will not share in any opprobrium or epithets of that character. When they do not

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. ROBINSON. Mr. Chairman, I hope that we shall soon come to a vote upon this question; and I know if I do not get the floor now some one will, to fill out the five minutes that would be appropriated in opposition to the amendment of the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Polk.) I do not know that my opinions are of any consequence here or elsewhere upon this question. And I have no solicitude whatever, sir, as to what conclusion may be drawn from my vote in favor of this resolution to receive floarer. from my vote in favor of this resolution to receive Governor Kossuth-none whatever. I shall not travel out of my way for the purpose of making a declaration to Russia, If you interfere again in the affairs of Hungary there will be no danger from us. If there were no other reason in the world why I would refuse to make such a declaration, it would be that, and that alone, that while it would palsy the arms of patriots struggling for liberty, it would nerve the arm of the tyrant that is now stretched over them. Gentlemen say they are as much the friends of Kossuth and his cause as we are. I shall not question their motives; but let me ask them what the effect of their opposition is? Who are they who first upon this floor talked about incorporating a principle upon that simple resolution? Were they the friends of this resolution? No, sir; but the enemies of it, who, looking far into the future for something to embarrass us, must go out of their way to declare that they will or will not do thus and so. Sir, I had just as leif, and a little rather, that the country, as far as I am concerned, would intervene, if Russia interfered again as she has done. I will not say what I would do, but it seems to me he is not a wise statesman who, without knowing any thing about the extent of the danger that surrounds the future—who, without knowing any thing about what Governments we may get into diffiany thing about what Governments we may get into diffi-culty with, or what embarrassments may result to our commercial relations, or what the extent of our interests involved, yet goes out of the way to try his hand upon a principle of that kind. Sir, I hope the friends of this re-solution will cease offering amendments; for if we cease offering them the five minute speeches will soon be ended. Let the enemies of the resolution talk alone and take the consequences. So far as I am concerned, I am not so much mystified as some others at the result. The country can know just as well, whether this resolution pass or not who were and who were not in favor of it and the motives by which they were governed. Governor Kossuth himself is too intelligent not to know that, though this reso lution may not pass, there are two to one in favor, and that it is by resort to parliamentary manœuvres that it is defeated. The question was then taken upon the amendment offer

ed by Mr. Polk and it was rejected.

Mr. BROWN, of Mississippi, offered the following amend "Be it understood, that the House of Representatives de

clines at this time to express any opinion as to whether this Government will or will not be indifferent to the doctrines of Kossuth." I offer this amendment in good faith. When, a little

more than twelve months ago, I voted to send a national ship to bear this distinguished man to our shores, I did it, sir, that he might come here in the character of an emigrant. I never dreamed-as I am sure no member of the last Congress ever dreamed—that he was coming here as a propa-gandist of new doctrines. I appeal to every member of this Congress, who was a member of the last House of Representatives, if any member supposed he was coming here upon any such mission? The first we hear of his intentions was in one of his English speeches—I think in his Southampton speech—when for the first time he made it known that he was coming to procure the intervention of this Government in the struggles that were going on in the Old World. I do not desire that our action here, either in inviting this distinguished man to this country or in inviting him to come to take a seat within the bar of this House, shall be construed into any expression of opinion upon the subject of his doctrine of intervention. And why? I can very readily imagine that in the progress of human events a case may arise in which it may become important for this Government to interfere. No such case has, in my judgment, arisen yet. But I would not, by saying that we never would interfere, cut ourselves of from the possibility of doing so if a case should arise. So much has been said upon this subject, not only by that distinguished man himself, but by his friends in Congress and out of it, that the inference may be drawn that we either intend to endorse his doctrines upon the one side, heard the arguments which have been advanced and the declarations which have characterized this House since or that we do not upon the other; that, in my judgment, it is imperative upon us to say whether, in our action here, we do not intend to express a judgment pro or con. Surely this cannot wound the sentiment of the distinguished Governor of Hungary. But, whether it does or does not, we are here the representatives of the American people, not responsible to Kossuth, but to the people of this coun-try—responsible for the exercise of an important trust, and the manner in which we shall exercise it will have a perity of the country. I have done nothing, and shall do nothing captiously. I am willing to do all proper honor to this distinguished man, but I am not prepared to show him such honors as never have been shown to any living man. invitation within the bar of this House, when we have sufficiently discussed the question to show to the American people that we do not intend to endorse his doctrine, then I am willing to withdraw opposition and invite him in. But you cannot separate this distinguished man from

the great principles he avows. What does he tell you every day? He says I am not here to be complimented. I am here to procure the recognition of a great national principle. And this is the shield which he bears between himself and the American people from day to day. No man, I undertake to say, can approach him except through this shield. You must endorse his doctrines, or he seeks no intercourse with you. I am for saying, in the language of that amendment, that we neither endorse nor refuse to enforce his doctrines at this time, reserving any such question until a proper case shall arise. The question was then taken on the adoption of the

esolution, and on division there were: Ayes 91, noes 58. So the motion was agreed to; and the House adjourned.

LABORS OF A PHILANTHROPIST.—A note from Rev. John M. SPEAR, the well known public laborer in behalf of des titute prisoners, informs us that during the year 1851 he assisted three hundred and fifty-six persons, by furnishing them with food, clothing, lodging, employment, counsel &c.; travelled to assist prisoners and to deliver lectures 7,160 miles in Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and New York; made seventy prison visits; delivered seventy-nine lectures on prisons and crime, its causes and treatment; distributed among prisoners and others six thousand publications; and became bail for prisoners to the amount of \$10,300.—Bos. Trans.

"OLD WHITEY."-The story having been started, at the time of the recent Hungarian demonstration in New York, that Gen. Taylon's war-horse, "Old Whitey," was present in the procession, the New Orleans Delta denies it, and remarks that the statement "slanders the respected family of General Taylon, in countenancing the idea that they would part with a charger so famous in the annals of our country, and so prominent in the history of the Hero of Buena Vista." "Old Whitey," is now at the resi-dence of General Taylor's son, on the coast, a few miles from New Orleans.

FIVE HUNDRED PERSONS DESTROYED BY A WATER SPOUT. On Saturday intelligence was received at Lloyd's, (London,) under date Malta, Monday, the 8th ultimo, of a most awful occurrence at the Island off Sicily, which had been swept by two enormous water-spouts, accompanied by a terrific hurricane. Those who witnessed the phenomena describe the water-spouts as two immense spherical bodies of water reaching from the clouds, their cones nearly touch-ing the earth, and, as far as could be judged, at a quarter of a mile apart, travelling with immense velocity. They passed over the island near Marsala. In their progress passed over the island near Marsala. In their progress houses were unroofed, trees uprooted, men and women, horses, cattle, and sheep raised up, drawn into their vortex, and borne on to destruction; during their passage rain descended in cataracts, accompanied with half-stones of enormous size and masses of ice. Going over Castellamarre, near Stabia, it destroyed half the town, and washed two hundred of the inhabitants into the sea, who all perished. Upwards of five hundred persons have been destroyed by this terrible visitation, and an immense amount of property, the country being laid waste for miles. The shipping in the harbor suffered severely, many vessels being destroyed, and their crews drowned. After the occurrence numbers of dead haman bodies were picked up, all frightfully mutilated and swollen.

DISPATCH IN PAPER-MAKING .- Few arts have been more improved than this, as they will acknowledge who have read a description of the old mode, and compared the present to it. The Louisville Courier of a late date re-lates a remarkable instance of dispatch: "At half-past five o'clock last evening," it says, "the paper on which this morning's edition of the Courier is printed was rage in Mr. Isaac Cromie's paper-mill. The rags were soon converted into the article we ordered, and at fifteen min utes before eight o'clock the paper was delivered at our office ready for the press. This is certainly an instance of remarkable expedition."